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A Copper Plate containing a grant of land by Lakshman Sen of Bengal, found near Torpon-dighí in the District of Dínájpur, 1874.—
By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, C. S.

(With two plates.)

Among the works undertaken to employ the people in Dínájpúr during the scarcity of 1873-4 was the deepening of a small tank to the north of the one called Torpon-dighí, or 'the tank of offerings,' six or seven miles S. S. E. of the ancient Muhammadan capital of Debkot, and the Hindú remains called the city of Ban Rájá. Two miles to the eastward is a mauza, called Báneshwarbátí, and Doctor Buchanan, in his account of Dínájpur,* mentions the traditions connecting this neighbourhood with the mythical Ban Rájá.

From the mud at the bottom of this small tank was dug a copper plate, thirteen inches long by eleven and a half wide, engraved on both sides with a grant of land made to a Bráhma by Lakshman Sen, a prince of the Hindú dynasty which Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí found on the throne of Bengal, when he carried the Muhammadan arms into that province, A. D. 1203.

At the top of the plate is affixed a circular relief, nearly three inches across, in copper, representing a ten-armed god, very similar to that lithographed by Mr. James Prinsep as at the head of a plate containing a record of a grant made by Keshab Sen, son of Lakshman Sen, found in paraganah Edilpúr, zila' Báqirganj.†

The character approaches more nearly to that of the Keshab Sen plate, so far as I can judge of the latter from Mr. Prinsep's lithograph of a somewhat imperfect impression, than to that of any other plate which I have

* Page 660, Vol. ii, Martin's Eastern India.

† Page 40, Vol. vii, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.

had an opportunity of examining, but differences are perceptible, the later plate tending more to the modern Bengali. Both are of a type rather Bengali than Devanāgarī, and of a type which has advanced nearer to the Bengali than the Āṃgāchhī plate of the Pāls,* or the inscription in the pillar in the Dīnājpur Rājbarī.† The *र* in both Sen plates is the Bengali one, while in the Āṃgāchhī and Rājbarī inscriptions it is the Devanāgarī. क, ज, त, ङ, द, न, प, ब, and most of the letters are identical in both Sen plates, and more Bengali than Devanāgarī; इ, ए, च, श, are the same, and at first sight remote from either Bengali or Devanāgarī; ष, and य are undistinguishable in both plates, being nearer the Devanāgarī form than the Bengali, which appears first in the Buddha Gaya inscription,‡ engraved after the death of Lakshman Sen. The letters in which Lakshman Sen's plate appear nearer Bengali than the Āṃgāchhī plate of Vighraha Pal, are त, ध, भ, श, र, and those in which Keshab Sen's plate seem to show a further step in the same direction, are घ, झ, ञ, स, and the composite form of द्.

The only inscriptions relative to the Sen kings quoted by Professor Lassen§ are the Keshab Sen plate and the Buddha Gaya inscription above mentioned. In the former the Professor makes a mistake between the names of Mādhab and Keshab Sen. The grant is made by Keshab Sen, son of Lakshman Sen, and, wherever the name of the grantor occurs, there are marks which Mr. Prinsep considered the signs of the erasure of another name. As the father's name remains unaltered, the name for which that of Keshab Sen was substituted, must be that of a brother, and, from the list of Sen kings given in the Aīn i Akbarī by Abul Fazl, Mr. Prinsep suggests that of Mādhab Sen, which has the same prosodiacal value as Keshab.

I have, however, met with a notice of another copper plate, containing a grant by Lakshman Sen, which does not appear to be generally known. A transcript is given at page 371, Part II, of a Bengali work, entitled "A discourse on the Bengali Language and Literature" by Ramgati Nyaratna (Hooghly, Samvat 1930). The transcriber wrote, he says, not from the original plate, but from a copy in the Bengali character sent him by Bábu Hari Dás Datt, zamíndár of Mojilpur, and he admits that Holo-dhor Churamoni, who tried to translate it, could not read every letter of it, but supplied the gaps conjecturally. Comparing his transcript with my plate, I find that the discrepancies are so slight, that I attribute them to mistakes made either by the transcriber, or by one of the engravers of the original plate, and I find that the grants are, with variations of little more than single letters, word for word the same down to the word *bhuktyantah*

* As. Res., ix, 440.

† Ind. Ant., i, 126.

‡ Page 657, Vol. v, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.

§ Page 746, Vol. iii, Indische Alterthumskunde.

aphed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
विष्णुसहस्रनाम
सामान्य ॥

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NAIPUR.

महायुगाहावमहाहाधिकमहायौलपत्रमहागणेश्वरौश्याधिकलोवा
द्वयमिहानोवलहश्यामामहिमाजविक्रियश्रियेककुलोत्तिकुयउयागि
कुयउनापक(वधययवाचोनवनांग्यसकलवाक्याधायजीविनोधाकय
जीवाकाविहकीर्तिजनचडहडुअतीयावजनयदावक्रिबकवाशुवा
कमिन्नवाकमिण्डवानवथाईमानयडिवाययडिअमादिगडिचमडम
शुडवडः यथागीयोडवईनडकाडः याडि वविश्याव यईवदवद्यावीयव
डानेकप्रययाकमण्डमायवायय वीलः श्रीमादक्रिणेत्रहहायय
वृयमीश्रीमायधिमवहसवाकडीश्रीमाडडिमिलीगयाडीश्रीमा
थंवडः श्रीमावक्रिन्नसवचयमवावहावुवलनयवगायथायसावश्रदिः
पञ्चमात्रायुक विगडुडवागवागमडिकमकः अंशैयविगकयईकय
वागसाईगडिक्रियाडिक्रियावलडि श्रीयामायहहाः अमायविगयः
अकलशूलः अमात्रिप्रवः अमवाकनाधिकलः अमयगायवायः यवि
ईडमवयीडाइरुड हडुयवगोड क्रिष्टिप्रगायकश्रमयडिगावव
ययईः कृतागतयवगश्रीमः प्रयोत्रायमार्कण्डययवगश्रीमः योत्रायल
क्रीयवयवगश्रीमः यवायहयदाकश्रमात्रायडावदाकश्राडि वर
वाईश्यायववाययामवदकोथमगायावगवाववायिलहमाश्रव
थमहायानाचार्यश्रीशुभ्रवयवगश्रीमः प्रगायह विविधिवदयकय
वृकडगवडंश्रीमन्वात्रायमहडावकश्रयमात्रायिवात्रामनश्रय
गायगाडिवृद्यययडुहमाश्रयथमहायानयक्रिण्डिनाश्रय
चक्राईक्रिडिअमकलयावडहमि(वृद्यगायनडावगायनीकनय
यडाइश्राडिः १७६ वडिः अश्रियेवावमडयवाहाविहवयिनयडि
डिवयहवगानुवकयाडडया० यालनियमगोववायाननीयवाह
वविवावयश्रीवगश्रिनः श्राकाः वक्रिडवईयडावकडिअवाधहः
यथायथायदाहमिअश्रयश्रयवायलहमियः अश्रिय कडिप्रहमिय
चुडिह डोडिप्रगायकश्रीगोत्रिपडंश्रमगामिली ॥ अयडांययडाश्रायाह
डवश्रववांश्रिअविश्रायकुमईश्रायिहईश्राहयवाडि ॥ अडिकमलदला
अवंधलालांश्रियमवलिश्रमववाकावडुअकलमिधश्रयाहडुअवृथान
हिहवः श्रिः यवकीडिवाविलयाः ॥ श्रीमन्मणिलेनानावाययडुश्राविश्रियह
वाहश्रमवाश्रनयान हडुययडनववायः ॥ अंश्रयडिअगानिमहाश्राव ॥

pāti, after which different names of places and different boundaries are given. After identifying the land, the grant goes on, as mine does, with the words *samātabistah sajalasthalah sag*, where the page containing the remainder of the grant is missing.

Besides this, I hear that Mr. Beveridge has recently found a fourth copperplate of the Sen dynasty in the district of Báqirganj, but I regret not having seen it.

The grant which I am now discussing opens with an invocation to Náráyana, with which should be compared the epithet *paramabaishnava*, afterwards applied to the King making the grant.

The first stanza is an allusion to Siva, under the name of Sambhu, the various attributes of a fertilising cloud being compared with those of that deity, as depicted in the drawing of Ishwara, given on page 249, Vol. i, Asiatic Researches, namely, his matted hair, in which Basaki, the king of Serpents, is entwined, and from which Ganges flows, the crescent moon on his brow, the necklace of human skulls, and the humour of abstraction. I am bound to say that Bábu Mohesh Chandra Chakravarti, to whose assistance I am indebted for the translation, refuses to accept my reading of "necklace of white skulls" for *swetasiromála*, saying that the expression must refer to a white garland on the head.

The second stanza is in honour of the moon, from which, in the *Chandra-vangsha*, the Sens evidently claim descent.

In the third, the poison of hostile kings is neutralised by the juice of some twining plant, to which the feet of the kings of the *Chandra-vangsha* are compared, a plant watered with the light of the gems on the coronets of prostrate kings.

The fourth stanza compares the effect produced upon their enemies by the Sen kings, with the influence of the season called *Hemanta*, the months of *Karttik* and *Agrahāyan*. Bábu Mohesh Chandra Chakravarti thinks *Hemanta* the name of an ancestor of the Sens. If so, he is not mentioned in Keshab Sen's plate. If he is a person, both he and Bijay Sen are spoken of as conquerors, but I can trace no reference by which to identify the dynasty supplanted, and to say whether it was or not that of the Pál kings of Gaur, one of whom, Vighraha Pál Deb, in the Ámgáchhí plate, speaks of his dominions or a province thereof as *Paundra-Varddhana*, the name used by both Lakshman Sen and his son Keshab.

The first of the Sen kings mentioned by Abul-Fazl is Su Sen, whom he makes the immediate predecessor of Ballál Sen. I do not consider Abul-Fazl's authority worth much as regards the pre-Muhammadan dynasties of Bengal, and unhesitatingly accept the testimony of the copper plates, as to the name of Bijay Sen.

Negatively the plates support the theory that Ballál Sen was not, as

the Bengal traditions say, the son of Adisur, or of the wife of Adisur, who brought Kanauj Bráhmans into Bengal. It is true that Abul-Fazl places a dynasty of which Adisur was the first, and then all the Pál kings, between Adisur and the Sens, but as I have already said, I care little for Abul-Fazl's authority, and until I found that these plates failed to support it, I have been inclined to believe the Bengal tradition. The Chakravarti family, whose ancestor is said to have been one of the Bráhmans invited by Adisur, date his migration into Bengal, from family records, in the end of the tenth century of the Christian era, which would bring Adisur after the Páls, and, in a paper on the Pál kings, I have already said that it appeared very probable that it should be upon the fall of the Pál Buddhist dynasty, that Adisur should restore Bráhmans from the west, and that his successor, Ballál Sen, should continue the work by thoroughly revising the caste system, as he is, by a very general tradition, said to have done. I can only say that I get nothing to support this theory from the Sen plates.

Passing on to Ballál Sen, the expressions used are again disappointingly vague. He too is spoken of as a conqueror, and one who walked in the way of the Veda, but there is no allusion to his traditional labours in the organisation of caste, which have rendered him famous. Lakshman Sen, his son, who makes the grant, is said to have lived at Bikrampur, which I do not hesitate to identify with the old Bikrampur near Dháká. The Paṇḍit employed by Mr. Prinsep has misunderstood the phrase giving the residence of Keshab Sen,* and I cannot from the lithograph read the name of the place. In the Monghyr grant the name is clear, *Mudgo-giri samábáshita srimajjayaskandabarát*; in the Ámgáchhí grant the word before *samábáshita srimajjayaskandabarát* is illegible. In my plate, *Bikrampur* is quite clear; in the Keshab Sen plate I cannot read it, but the Paṇḍit reads it *Jambu-gráma parisar*, which represents no known place.

When the Muhammadans entered Bengal, A. D. 1203, they found the Sen King reigning at Nadiá, but for some generations their descendants retained some power in the neighbourhood of Bikrampur and Sunárgaon, and the indications of rebellious zamíndárs, against whom the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal from time to time led their forces into Eastern Bengal, probably refer to them.

The King is called *parameshwara paramabaishnaba parama bhattaraka*. The second of these phrases shows him to have been a worshipper of Vishnu, and in the Monghyr plate is replaced by *parama saugata*, Deb Pal being a Buddhist. In the Ámgáchhí plate the epithet corresponding to this is unfortunately illegible. The Keshab Sen plate has apparently *paramasaur*.

* Page 50, Vol. vii, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal.

The title 'Lord of the Gaurā,' or of Gaur, which the Pál Kings bore, does not occur in this plate, nor, I think, in the Āngáchhī one, but in Keshab Sen's, he, his father, and his grandfather, are each called *Sankara gaureshwara*.

The term *pádanudhyáta*, 'meditating at the feet of', is shown by its use in at least a dozen plates to indicate the succession of a son to his father.

The list of princes and court officials who are ordered to respect the grant, correspond in some measure with other similar lists. Many of them occur in the Monghyr plate, translated by Wilkins (As. Res., Vol. I) and annotated by Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. iii, page 731), many in the Āngáchhī plate, and many in the Basáhi plate, respecting which Bábu Rájendralála Mitra has given his explanation at p. 327, Pt. I, Journ., As. Soc. Beng., 1873. I have not compared any other plates, but will note each officer's title with M., A., or B., as it occurs in one or other of the three plates I have mentioned.

Rájá (B.) must mean princes whom the SEN king considers subject to him.

Rájanyaka, may mean only persons of royal descent, or *Kshatriya*.

Rágní, (B.) may be either reigning queens, or queens-consort.

Ránaka, (M.) probably means queens' relations.

Rájaputra, (A., M.) kings' sons.

Rájámátya, (A., *Amátya* M.) members of the king's council.

Purohita, (B.) domestic priest.

Mahádharmmádhyáksha, chief-justice, mentioned by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, Essays, Vol. I, p. 495, ed. 1873.

Mahásándhibigrahika, (A.) a great officer for making treaties and declaring war. This officer, or a subordinate, is deputed at the end of the grant, to give effect to it.

Mahásenapati, (A., Senapati B.) The chief commander of the army.

Mahámudrádhikrita, great mint-master. The title can scarcely mean anything else, though we know of no Bengal coinage previous to the Muhammadan conquest.

Antaranga, servant of the interior, or perhaps confidential servant.

Brihaduparika, (*Uparika* M., *rájast* (?) *ánoparika*, A.) This title in the Monghyr plate follows *Rájasthāniya*, and in the Āngáchhī one the two seem to be combined. Of what this officer was superintendent, it is impossible to say. Professor Lassen thought he was overseer of the officers of criminal law, whose titles follow in the Monghyr plate.

Mahákshapataliha, (*mahákshapatalika* A., *akshapatalika* B.). Bábu Rájendralála translates this title 'justiciary'; *aksha patala* meaning 'law-suit' and 'collection'. I think the officer may have been keeper of law-records.

Mahāpratīhāra, (A., M., *pratīhār* B.) great doorkeeper, probably commander of the bodyguard.

Mahābhogika, I think was probably an officer in charge of revenue, from a special right over the land called *bhoga*. The letter I have read *g*, is not quite clear, and might be *p* or *y*.

Mahāpīlupati. The word *pīlu* has several meanings, but this officer was probably head of the Forest Department of the Revenue.

Mahāganaska daussādika, (*mahādauśādhasādhanika* M.) Mr. Wilkins calls him 'chief obviator of difficulties'. Professor Lassen thinks him the same as *Mahāsādhanabhaga* in the Keshab Sen plate, and as *Sādharma* means 'material,' he considers this officer Minister of Public Works.

Chauroddharanika (M., A.) thiefcatcher; this was probably a military appointment, established to cope with the predatory bands which infested the country even within the last sixty years.

Gaulmika (M. and, I think, A.). The *gaulma* was a troop composed of nine elephants, nine chariots, twenty-seven horsemen, and forty-five foot-soldiers.

Dandapāśhika, (M., A.) Wilkins translates 'keeper of the instruments of punishment'; it may, however, be derived from *danda* a staff, or mace.

Dandanāyaka, (A., *Mahādandanāyak* M.) was probably subordinate to the last.

Bishayapati, (M.) rendered by Wilkins 'governor of a city'. The word *bishaya* has so many meanings, that it is not easy to guess at the nature of the office indicated by this title.

The *Chatta Bhatta* caste, to whom, among others, the grant is addressed, are twice mentioned, the second time being where the grant of land is said to be free from the entrance of *Chatta Bhatta*. I see that *Chanda Bhanda* is the reading of Mr. Prinsep's pandit, and Professor Blochmann also,* accepts this as an improved reading. I can only say that the first part of the compound letter is most clearly ङ, and the second I think न, but it may be the vowel . The compound is certainly not ञ. Who the *Chatta Bhatta* were it is as yet impossible to say, but they formed probably the bulk of the cultivating population of the country, and I think it probable that the reason why the name has disappeared is that the *Chatta Bhatta* were made Muhammadans; for the Bengal Muhammadan, who cultivates in many districts more than half the land, is not the descendant of foreign conquerors, but betrays in many points a Hindu origin. *Chatta* and *Bhatta* I look upon as two distinct names, because I have seen the *Bhatta*, or *Batta*, written before the *Chatta*, instead of after.

In the Monghyr plate अचाटमट प्रवेश is enumerated among the things from which the grant is free, and Mr. Wilkins translates it 'no passage for

* Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, Pt. I, 1873, p. 226, Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal.

troops'. The *Āmgāchhī* plate has the same expression, so has the *Bāman-ghāṭī* plate (p. 166, Pt. I, J. A. S. B., 1871).

The Keshab Sen plate speaks to the *Chatta Bhatta jātiyān*, where it might perhaps be Chanda Bhandā, as the transcript is not clear; *Chatta Bhatta prabesh*, as here, and a third time, where it is illegible in the transcript. A plate from the Sionī District, Narbadā territories, at p. 729, Vol. V., Journ. A. S. B., has *abhatta chekhatra prabesh*, as read by Mr. Prinsep's paṇḍit. I cannot read the character of that grant, and so am unable to pronounce it the expression I am looking for, but it is probably the same.

The expression *Paundra-Varddhana* appears to me to have much historical significance. The *Paundra* are, I believe, mentioned in Manu as a degraded race, that is to say, as I understand it, a race whose importance did not compel the Brāhmins to give it a high rank in the caste system, as they did to the Kshatriya. Of the *Varddhana* I do not remember to have met with any mention as a tribe or caste, but it occurs as part of the name of each king of one of the dynasties of Kashmīr, and I think I have met with it elsewhere as part of personal names. The compound *Paundra-Varddhana* is the Sanskrit form to which Mr. Stanislaus Julien has reduced the Chinese name by which the pilgrim Hiouen Thsang calls an Indian kingdom which he visited in the seventh century of the Christian era. The position of this kingdom has been settled by Mr. Jas. Fergusson, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, November 1872. The pilgrim followed the course of the Ganges to some place near Rājmaḥal. The Ganges has shifted so much, that it is quite impossible to identify this place, but I am very much inclined to look for it near old Gaur. The appearance of the country leads me to suppose that at some time previous to the Muhammadan conquest, the main stream of the river, instead of turning southward where it now does, ran east along the present Kālindri as far as Māldah, and then turned south, along the Mahānanda, running eastward of Gaur.

The direction in which Hiouen Thsang was travelling was eastward, and after following the course of the river as far as it took that direction, he would naturally cross it and turn his back upon it as soon as it turned to the southward. The only difficulty is to ascertain the point where the river changed its direction. After crossing the river, the Chinaman went 600 *li*, or from 100 to 120 miles, eastward, and found himself in the kingdom of *Paundra-Varddhana*. Mr. Fergusson quotes from a paper in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, 1824, an account of *Pundra Desa*, abstracted from the *Brahmananda* section of the *Bhavishyot Purana*, from which it appears that the chief towns of the *Nivritti* division of *Pundra Desa*, comprising Dīnājpur, Rangpur, and Koch Bihār, were *Verddhana Kuta*, *Kach-*

hapa, and *Sriranga* or *Vaharica*. *Paundra-Varddhana* was probably the division of *Pundra* or *Paundra Desa*, of which *Verddhana Kuta* was the capital. Eighty miles to the east of the place where I think it probable Hiouen Thsang may have crossed, or 100 miles from Rájmahal, close to Gobindganj, is a place marked in the map *Rájbárá*, which is popularly known as *Borddhon-kúti*, and which is the residence of a zamíndár of very old family, which 250 years ago possessed estates nearly, if not exactly, coterminous with Akbar's Sarkár of Ghorághát. I have tried to identify the name of Paundra with that of Sarkár Panjara, adjoining Sarkár Ghorághát on the north-west, but am not satisfied that I am right. 150 miles further eastward brought the pilgrim to the kingdom of Kámrúp, which, as Mr. Fergusson points out, probably means the capital thereof, Gauhati, which lies a good deal to the north of east, from Borddhon-kúti, but perhaps not too much so for Hiouen Thsang to speak of it as to the eastward. The kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana extended from the Kosi in Púrniah to the Brahmaputra, and from the Ganges to the hills.

I do not think Paundra-Varddhana is mentioned in the Monghyr plate. Deb Pál addresses the Gaura as his principal subjects, as other Pál kings call themselves Gaureshwar, Gaurádhipo.

In the Ámgáchhí plate, Vighra Pál has the expression *Sri Pundra varddhanastha Kankodibasa bishayántahpáti*, and I have not yet discovered any allusion to the *Gaura*.

Keshab Sen (p. 45, Vol. vii, J. A. S. B.) says *Sri Paundra varddhana bhuktyántahpáti*, the same expression as Lakshman Sen's, where I take *bhukti*, as *bishaya* in the Ámgáchhí plate, to mean 'province', as if *Paundra-Varddhana* were only a part of the dominions of the Sen kings. Keshab Sen has *bange Bikrampur* following the expression, as if *Banga*, or Eastern Bengal, in which Bikrampur was, were a part of Paundra-Varddhana.

The word *baredyán* in the text may stand for *barenýán* 'chiefs,' or for *bárendrán*, meaning the inhabitants of Barendra, a geographical expression which once applied to the tract I understand by Paundra-Varddhana, and which I believe now survives in the name 'Borind,' by which the hilly tract in Máldah, Dinájjpur, Rájshálí, and Bográ, is popularly known.

The law requiring such an edict as this to be upon silk or copper is quoted by Mr. Colebrooke. See Misc. Ess., II., 298; Digest of Hindoo Law, II. 278; As. Res., II. 50.

The word *dakshiná* is a technical word, to express the fee given to the priest on the occasion of certain ceremonies. This grant of land was made on the occasion of the king's giving away gold, horses, and chariots. Perhaps he had consecrated a gift of a car and horses for the *ratha játra*, a suggestion of mine, which the Pandit rejects.

The *gotra* of Bharadvája is the family descended from the *Rishi*, or

Sage, of that name; the *pravara* also indicates descent, here from three, Bháradvája, Angirasa, and Várhaspatya; these three are the same as those assigned to a Bráhmaṇ in a grant discussed by Mr. Colebrooke, page 305, Vol. ii, Misc. Essays, where he says that the distinction between *gotra* and *pravara* is not very clear. I may suggest that the *gotra* represents the direct line of the descent, while the *pravara* enumerates the families whose arms, as a herald would say, the person was entitled to quarter.

The description of the nature of the grant is not quite clear. The word *sankadasháparádh*, which I have rendered ‘fines for crime’, may be *sahyadasháparádh*; the transcript of the Monghyr plate, which I do not think very trustworthy, has *sadasháparádh*; at p. 322, Part I, Journ., As. Soc. Beng., 1873, Bábu Rájendralála Mitra reads *saddasháparádh*. In the Ámgáchhí plate, the engraver seems to have blundered into *sadashápachárah*. The expression has certainly some connection with the officer called in the Monghyr plate *dasháparádhik*, whom Mr. Wilkins calls ‘investigator of crimes’. In the *sanads* to zamíndárs granted by the Súbadárs of Bengal in Muhammadan times, and by our earlier Governors-General, the duties of the landowners respecting the prevention and detection of crime are set forth, and I think the expression I am discussing may have some reference to similar duties.

Of the names of places mentioned, I recognise none in the neighbourhood of the tank in which the copper plate was found. *Nichdaha* appears to mean “the Pool of the Nich”, the Nich being an impure tribe whom I remember to have found mentioned occasionally, but do not recollect where.

The measurement of land by the quantity of seed corn it requires, is not unknown in Bengal to this day, especially in Silhat and Kachhár.

The tables of measures of grain are given by Mr. Colebrooke at page 533, Vol. I., Miscellaneous Essays, ed. 1873. The *árha* or *árhaka* differs in quantity in different parts of India, but the table taken from the *Bhavi-shyapurána* accords best with the denominations still known in Dínájpur, and is probably the one to which we should refer. The unit is the *mushti* or handful.

2	<i>pala</i> or <i>mushti</i>	=	1	<i>prásriti</i>
4		=	2	= 1 <i>kurava</i>
16		=	8	= 4 = 1 <i>prastha</i>
64		=	32	= 16 = 4 = 1 <i>arhaka</i>

The *árha*, according to this calculation, Mr. Colebrooke makes 224 tolás, or 2 sers 121 chataks, and corresponds nearly to the *káthá*, a wooden measure holding of *dhán* two, and of *chaul* three, seers of 96 tolás, in Dínájpur.

The name *arhiya* is also used, nearly corresponding to the *káthá*. A bighá takes six or seven *káthás* of seed, so the grant here recorded was, roughly speaking, about seven acres.

The produce is said to be 125 *purán* of cowries. It is not clear whether this refers to the gross produce or to the rent. Mr. Colebrooke's table gives

$$20 \text{ kapardak} = 1 \text{ kákiní}$$

or cowree

$$80 = 4 = 1 \text{ pan}$$

$$1280 = 64 = 16 = 1 \text{ purán.}$$

The Dinájpur people say

$$4 \text{ cowree} = 1 \text{ ganda}$$

$$80 = 20 = 1 \text{ pan}$$

$$320 = 80 = 4 = 1 \text{ dām}$$

$$1280 = 320 = 16 = 4 = 1 \text{ káhan}$$

Thus the *káhan* of Dinájpur corresponds with the ancient *purán*, and as, when cowrees were last current, six or seven *káhan* went to the rupee, the annual produce of the land granted amounts to about twenty rupees, or, calculating roughly, a rupee a bigha. Average good arable land in Dinájpur pays a rent of a rupee or a rupee and a quarter per bigha at the present time, so the language of the grant probably refers to gross produce.

The land granted is to be all good land, of which none is unculturable waste, none is sacred to a god, none is taken up with cattle paths, and none is used, as large spaces near villages are, for latrine ground.

The *slokas* with which the grant concludes, occur repeatedly in other similar grants.

The date, the year 7, appears to refer only to the reign of the King, as is the case with most grants engraved on copper plates that have come to my notice.

The age of the grant may, however, be known by the character, and by the date of the subversion of the Sen dynasty, to be between 1100 and 1200 A. D.

The words following the date I take to be the name of the scribe or the engraver. Comparing this grant with that made in the next generation by KESHAB SEN, the only points requiring notice are the use by the latter of the title *Gaureshwar*, to which I have before alluded, and the attributing to KESHAB SEN sovereignty over the Asvapati, the Gajapati, whom I take to be the King of Orissa, and the Narapati.

The Buddhagaya inscription, to which I have previously referred, is shown by the character in which it is engraved to be later than this, and is dated after the reign of Lakshman Sen, in the time of Asoka Chandra Deb.

There is nothing to show what Lakshman Sen this may be, nor is there any connection known, I believe, between a King Asoka and the Sen dynasty of Bengal. The inscription contains an allusion to the triumph of the Lion over the Elephant, a device which occurs frequently in Hindu carving, and which appears to have some connection with the Pál dynasty of Bengal; but the subject is still obscure, and I cannot find that the Buddhagaya inscription throws any light on the history of Bengal.

Transcript.

ओ० नमो नारायणाय ॥

विद्युद्यत्र मणियुतिः फणिपतेर्धालेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं
 वारि स्वर्गतरेङ्गिणीभितशिरोमाला वलाकावलिः ।
 ध्यानाभ्याससमीरणोपनिहितः श्रेयोऽङ्कुरोद्भूतये
 भूयाद्दः स भवार्तितापभिदुरः शम्भोः कपर्दीम्बुदः ॥
 आनन्देऽ(A.)स्मृनिधौ चकोरनिकरे दुष्खच्छिदात्यन्तिकी (B.)
 कङ्कारे हतमोहता (C.) रतिपतावेकोऽ(D.) हमेवेतिधीः ।
 यस्यामी अमृतात्मनः समुदन्याशु प्रकाशाज्जग-
 त्यन्ते (E.) ध्यानपरम्यरापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्त्राम्बुदे ॥
 सेवाननमृद्वकोटिकिरीटरोचिरम्बूक्षसत्पदनखद्युतिवल् (F.) रीभिः ।
 तेजोविषज्वरमुषोद्विषतामभूवन् भूमीभुजः स्फुटमथाषधिनाथवंशे ॥
 आकौमारविकखरैर्दिशिदिशि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्द्वीयेशः-
 प्रालेयैरिराजवक्त्रनलिनस्त्रानीः समुन्मीलयन् ।
 हेमन्तः स्फुटमेय (G.) सेनजननल्लेचौघपुण्यावली-
 शालिस्तथ्यविपाकपीवरगुणलेषामभूदंशजः ॥
 ददीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजतेजःसहचर-
 र्यशोभिः शोभन्तेपरिधिपरिण्डा इव दिशः ।
 ततः कां (H.) चीलीलाचतुरचतुरम्भोधिलहरी-
 परीतोऽध्वीभर्ताजनिविजयसेनः स विजयी ॥
 प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्यदामनलमेवेदाय नैकाध्वगः
 सङ्ग्रामः श्रितजङ्गमाकृतिरभूदलालसेनस्ततः ।
 यद्येतोमयमेव श्रेय्यविजयी दल्लौषधं तत्तत्क्षणा-
 दलीणा रचयांचकार वशगाः खस्त्रिन परेषां श्रियः ॥
 संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभोगप्रलोभादिशा-
 मीशैरंशसमर्थणेन घटितस्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः ।
 दोरुक्षत्तपितारिमङ्गररसोराजन्यधर्माश्रयः
 श्रीमल्लक्षणसेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यमीमाजनि ॥
 शश्वद्वन्मयादिभुक्तविषयास्तन्मात्रनिष्ठीकृत-
 खान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाज्जयम् ।
 दैरात्मप्रतिविम्बितेऽपि (A.) निपतत्त (I.) त्रेऽ(A.) पि चंचत्तुणेऽ(A.)
 प्यद्वैतेन यतस्ततोऽ(A.) पि स परोदेवः परं वी (J.) क्षते ॥

स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुरसमावाशित(K.) श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् महाराजाधिराज श्रीवज्रालसे-
नदेवपादानुध्यात परमेश्वर परमवैष्णव परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवः
कुशली, समुपगताशेषराजराज्यक राज्ञीराणक राजपुत्र राजासात्य पुरोहित महाधर्मा-
ध्यक्ष महासाम्बिविग्रहिक महासेनापति महामुद्राधिकृत आन्तरङ्ग दृष्टदुपरिक महालपट-
लिक महाप्रतीहार महाभोगिक महापीलुपति महागणस्कंदौस्त्राधिक चौराद्वारणिक
नौवल्लहस्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादियाष्टक गौत्सिक दण्डपाणिक दंडनाथक विषयपत्यादीन्
वन्त्यां सकलराजपादोपजीविनो(A.)ऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिचाकीर्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान्
जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणेत्तरान् यथार्हमानयति बोधयति समादिशति च
सतसन्तु भवतां यथा श्रीपौण्डर्वर्द्धन भक्त्यन्तपाति वरेद्यान्। पूर्वे बृद्धविहारी देवता नैकर-
देव्याश्च भूम्याढावापपूर्वालिः सीमा दक्षिणे निचडहार पुष्करिणी सीमा । पश्चिमे नन्दिह-
रियाकुण्डी सीमा उत्तरे मोल्लानखाडी सीमा इयं(L.)चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नलवत्यदेश व्यवहारन-
(M.)लिन देव गोपथायसारभवहः पञ्चोन्मानाधिक विंशत्युत्तराढावापश्चैकात्म्यः संवत्सरेण
कपदक पूराण साईशतैकात्यक्तिको विल्लिहट्टीग्रासीयभूभागः समाट विटपः सजलस्थलः
सगर्तोपरः सगुवाक नारिकेलः सद्य शपराधः परिहृतं सर्वं पीडोऽचट्टभट्टप्रवेशोऽकिंचि-
त्प्रप्राद्वस्तुन यति गोचरपर्यन्तः ऊताशनदेवशर्मणः प्रपौत्राय सार्कण्डेयदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय
लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय भारद्वाज सगोत्राय भारद्वाज आङ्गिरस वार्हस्पत्य प्रवराय
सामवेद कौथुस शाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने हेमास्यद(N.)थमहादानाचार्यश्रीईश्वरदेवशर्मणपुण्ये
ऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायण भट्टारकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश् पुण्य-
यशोऽ(A.)भिष्टद्ये दत्तहेमाश्वरथमहादाने दक्षिणात्वेनात्सृज्य आचन्द्रा(A.)र्कं क्षितिसमकालं
यावत् भूमिच्छिद्र न्यायेन ताश्च शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः॥ तद्भवद्विः सर्वै(0.)रेवानुमन्तव्यम् ।
भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयम् । भवन्ति-
चात्र(P.)धर्मानुगमिनः श्लोकाः । 'बृद्धभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य हस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य नस्य तदा फलम् ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्य-
कर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगमिनौ ॥ खदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुं धरां । स विष्ठायाः(Q.)
कृमिर्भूत्वा पिबेभिः(Q.)साह पच्यते'(R.)॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य
जीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्या न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलाप्याः ॥ श्रीमल्लक्ष्म-
णसेनो नारायणदत्त सान्नि विग्रहिकम् । इह ईश्वर शासन दाने दूतं व्यथत नरनाथः ॥
सं ७ भाद्रदिने ३ । श्रीनिमहासानि ॥

Notes on the Transcript.

- A. Insertion of ऽ, suggested by Mohesh Chandra Chakravarti.
- B. को for का or की, M. C. C.
- C. *hatd* for *hātā*, M. C. C.
- D. Insertion of ऽ, M. C. C.
- E. *ante* for *antre*, M. C. C.
- F. Double the *l*., M. C. C.
- G. For *meya* read *meba*, M. C. C.
- H. M. C. C. writes the *anusvara* and *ch* instead of the compound *neh*.
- I. *Tpa* for *ttha*, M. C. C.
- J. *kshya* for *ksha*, M. C. C.
- K. *bāsita* for *bāsrita*, M. C. C.
- L. *तथ* for *य*, M. C. C.

M. म for न, M. C. C.

N. M. C. C. reads *hemāśharatha* for *hemśyadatha*.

O. *sarbbai* for *sarbbai*, M. C. C.

P. *Dharmmānūsāsanaḥ slokaḥ* for *dharmmānūgasinaḥ glokaḥ*. The engraver's blunder is obvious.

Q. Insertion of ः, M. C. C.

R. *saha* for *sāha*, M. C. C.

Translation.

Om! Salutation to NARAYANA!

I. May the germ of your prosperity be developed by the cloud which is the clustered hair of SAMBHO, by whom the sorrows and pains of the world are done away, the cloud whose lightning is the flash of the jewel of the serpent king, whose INDRA-BOW is the crescent moon, whose water is the river of heaven, and along which a row of herons fly, the necklace of white skulls, and whose collected air is constant meditation!

II. May you rejoice in the light of the moon, full of nectar, at whose appearance the sea is glad, partridges cease to fear, and the husband of Rati* boasts himself peerless, the moon, which, after long series of meditations, has been proved to be always full!

III. The kings of the race of AUŠODHINATH† neutralize the sharp fever-poison of their enemies by the lustre of the nails of their feet, as with the juice of creepers, nurtured (as plants with water) by the lustre of the diadems of numbers of kings, prostrate in homage.

IV. Of that race sprang HEMANTA, in the fame of whose arms, resplendent on all sides from his infancy, the faces of the kings of his foes withered as the lotus blossom shrivels with frost, and in whose qualities the virtues of the house of SEN reached their highest development, as autumn matures‡ the rice in the fields.

V. Then BIJAY SEN, the victorious, whose mighty arms to this day clothe the four quarters of heaven with the light of the fame that attends them, became lord of the earth which the waves of four oceans girdle as with an undulating zone.

VI. Next was BALLAL SEN, an active foe to the influence of the Iron Age, walking in the path of the Vedas, an incarnation of war, who by means of his victorious heroism in a moment brought into his own hands the wealth of his enemies, undiminished.

VII. LAKSHMAN SEN, the King, formed by contributions of parts of the Lords of the quarters of heaven, who longed for the love of the Nymphs of the quarters, by the power of his arms quelling the tone of war in his enemies, holding to the virtue of the Royal race, became a standard of courtesy.§

VIII. His enemies again and again freed themselves from the ties of the world, in the same way withdrew themselves from worldly matters, and in the shade looked on him as a god and in fear of him trembled at every berry that dropped and every blade of grass that rustled.

* Kandarpa.

† The Moon.

‡ The name of Hemanta suggests the season so called, the autumn months of Kartik and Agrahayan.

§ The heaven is divided into ten quarters, each embodied in a nymph, and each having its Lord, of whom Indra is one. It is a popular fiction that kings are made up of parts of these Lords.

[Prose.] Truly the good lord, good worshipper of Vishnu, good king, the prosperous SRI LAKSHMAN SEN DEB, meditating at the feet of SRI BALLAL SEN DEB, from out of his victorious camp, resident at BIKRAMPUR, to all who are present, Rájá, Rájanyaka, Rágní, Ránaka, Rájaputra, Rájámátya, Purohita, Mahádhammádhyaśha, Mahásándhibigrahika, Mahásenapati, Mahámudrádhikrita, Antaranga, Brihaduparika, Mahákshapatalika, Mahápratíhára, Mahábhogika, Mahávilapati, Maháganaskadaussádhika, Chauroddharanika, to those in charge of the ships, the elephants the horses, the cattle, the buffaloes, the goats, the sheep, and the rest; to the *Gaulmika*, the *Dandapáshika*, the *Dandanáyaka*, the *Bishayapati*, and the like, the foresters, and all who earn their livelihood at the feet of the King, all who carry out the published orders of governors, persons of the caste of CHATTA BHATTA, the countrymen, the cultivators, BRAHMANS, other than BRAHMANS, [I am not sure that this is the meaning of *Brahmanottarín*] to all persons worthy of esteem, men of understanding, men who issue orders, to all chiefs who have tenures in SRI PAUNDRA-VARDDHANA, we proclaim that by us is given, by means of this copper decree, according to law, a piece of land, so long as the earth with the sun and moon endure, given up as a priest's fee, on account of the ceremony of my giving away gold, horses, and chariots, for the increase of my reputation for good deeds, and that of my father and mother, with my mind fixed on the Lord Náráyan, in the day of good deeds with the proper rite of pouring water, unto SRI ISHWAR DEB SHARMMAN, my preceptor in the ceremony of the great gift of gold, horses, and chariots, in the following of the Kauthuma treatise of the Sam Veda, he with the Prabara of Bháradvája, Angirasa, and Bháraspatya, of the Gotra of Bharadvája, son of LAKSHMAN DHAR DEB SHARMMAN, which was son of MARKKANDEYA DEB SHARMMAN, which was son of HUTASHAN DEB SHARMMAN. I give, with all pasture and forest, with water and land, with salt-pans, with betel nut and cocoanut, with fines for crime, exempt from all annoyance, from the entrance of Chatta Bhatta, a small acceptable portion [*kinchit pragráhya*; the reading is doubtful, and the meaning still more so] within recognised limits, a share in the land of the village BILAHISTI, bounded on the east, by the eastern *ail* of the rent-free *dman* and given to the god BUDDHA BIHARI, which is sown with an *drhá* of seed, on the south by the tank of NICHDAHA, on the west by the well NANDI HARIPA, and on the north by MOLLA'N KHARI, [The ravine of the Lotus] this land so bounded, apart from unculturable land, foul with use, endowments of gods, and cattle tracks, sown with a hundred and twenty-five *arha*, and producing yearly a hundred and fifty *purán* of *kauris*.

By you all that is to be enjoyed. By all future kings to be respected, to keep up the reputation of virtue, and from fear of falling into hell if they take it away, to this effect are the following *sloka* from the Dharma anusásan.

Slok 1. Lands have been granted by many kings, including Ságar and others; to whomsoever belongs the land, his is the produce thereof.

This *slok* occurs as No. 2. in the Monghyr copper plate, page 127, vol. i, Asiatic Researches, where, however, the latter half is either different or differently rendered. It is No. 1 in the Ámgáchhí plate, where the engraver has put *yasya* for the first *tasya*. It is No. 2, and No. 4, respectively in the two grants from Basáhi, translated by Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, pp. 323, 328, J. A. S. B., 1873, except that *bhukta*, 'enjoyed' is read for *datta*, 'granted.' It is No. 1, in each of the two Chaibásá

plates translated by Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosh, pp. 167, 169, J. A. S. B., 1871.

Slok 2. Both he who receives and he who makes a grant of land, are equally virtuous in deeds, and go ever to paradise.

Nos. 4 and 1, of the above grants, pp. 323, 328, J. A. S. B., 1873, except that *básinau* is read for *gáminau*. No. 2, of the Ámgáchhí plate.

Slok 3. He who taketh away land granted by himself or by others, rots with his parents, like a maggot, in filth.

No. 3 of the Monghyr grant, No. 4 of the Ámgáchhí one. Nos. 3 and 7 of the two Basáhi plates. Nos. 4 and 3 of the two from Chaibásá. In some *majjati*, 'sink', is read for *pachyati*, 'rot'.

Slok 4. Think that the wealth and the life of man are unstable as a drop of water on a leaf of the lotus; considering all this as an example, the noble deeds of others should not be lessened by a man.

No. 4 of the Monghyr grant; No. 6, of the Ámgáchhí; No. 5, in each of the Bámanghátí, or Chaibásá.

Srí Lakshman Sen, the Lord of men, hath deputed Náráyana Datta, the *Sándhi bigrahik*, to give effect to this *Ishwara Sason*.

In the year, 7, the third day of Bhadra. Sri Nimahásáni.

Krishna-cultus in the Brhat Samhita.—By PRANNA'TH PANDIT, M.A.

Professor Weber* in a passage approvingly quoted by Dr. Lorinser† in the appendix to his edition of the Bhagavad Gita, says that *the worship of Krishna as sole god is one of the latest phases of Indian religious systems, of which there is no trace in Varáha-Mihira, who mentions Krishna, but only in passing*. I would, however, draw the attention of the learned Professor to a passage in the fifty-eighth chapter of the Brhat Samhita, which is perhaps the identical one which he had in view when he penned the words italicised above. The passage is this :—

कार्योऽष्टभुजो भगवान् चतुर्भुजो द्विभुज एव वा विष्णुः ।
 श्रीवत्साङ्कितवच्चाः कौस्तुभमणिभूषितोरष्कः ॥ २१ ॥
 अतस्तीकुसुमश्यामः पीताम्बरनिवसनः प्रसन्नमुखः ।
 कुण्डलकिरीटधारी पीनगलोरःखलांशभुजः ॥ २२ ॥
 खड्गगदाशरपाणिर्दक्षिणतः शान्तिदस्तुर्थकरः ।
 वामकरेषु च कार्मुकखेटकचक्राणि शङ्खश्च ॥ २३ ॥
 अथ च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिं द एको गदाधरश्चान्यः ।
 दक्षिणपार्श्वे द्यैवं वामे शङ्खश्च चक्रश्च ॥ २४ ॥

* Indische Studien II., 298, &c.

† Indian Antiquary, Vol. II., p. 235.